I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people
to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is
used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It
is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by
women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of
tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemor-
rhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery,
chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by
poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her
for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went
away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a
headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then
his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine,
although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such
a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person
is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good
hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison
him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad
shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person
was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would
never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A
bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor,
because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 778
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at
all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the
male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out
to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can
find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For
that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the [824] plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

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dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is then continued.

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and, ejaculating *ho —o—o*, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones. The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded.

During the interval between the first and second divisions the attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wase'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over.

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When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

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the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medicine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

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The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

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Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious

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feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives, at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters prepared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you. If then you happen to be without work, all that you need for your support they will give you. For as long a time as you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some power from those individuals who know the virtues and powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[19] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

§30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite ashamed of myself.

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the peyote, was holy and that he would turn us all over to it. He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The peyote was then passed around. They gave me five buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
42. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 53. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).